

PALESTINE PERSPECTIVES

Palestine Research and Educational Center

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ISRAEL'S DARK AGES

It is an observable fact that Israel, in its brief existence, displayed a remarkable capacity to deceive foes and friends alike. One explanation for this fact is that Israel's intentions are so outrageous they are simply not credible. That is why, for example, it succeeded in misleading large segments of public opinion about the purposes and scope of its invasion of Lebanon. What was alleged to be a limited strike to avenge the attempted assassination of Israel's ambassador in London, or at worst a "posse" to subdue a 25-mile zone in the south of Lebanon, turned out to be a cover for an indiscriminate onslaught to obliterate a nation, to colonize a neighboring state, and to intimidate a region.

Another reason for Israel's ability to surprise people with its behavior is the mistaken assumption, widely held in the western world, that Israel is a European-style, twentieth-century, democratic state. Such states, it is generally presumed, are enlightened by values and guided by self-imposed constraints which civilize their behavior even in the face of provocation. Consequently, the discovery of mass graves in an African state, for example, or an armed attack on a university campus in an Asian country would surprise a few people in the west. But the discovery of mass graves in Israeli-occupied Lebanon and the armed assault on the University of Hebron in the Israeli-occupied West Bank appear to be fantastic allegations to some and unfortunate lapses to others.

To understand this astonishing discrepancy between Israel's image and its reality, it is necessary to scrutinize its self-proclaimed credentials and to inquire into their authenticity. Israel came into being, in 1948, through an act of usurpation. The claim which it makes today—that it is different from South Africa because in Israel the majority governs—is only true because, unlike South Africa, Israel

expelled the indigenous majority. Even the formal appearance of Israeli democracy is rooted in a colossal demographic purge.

Just as important is the fact that Israel is blatantly and purposefully discriminatory. Many states practice various forms and degrees of discrimination. But *no other country parades with pride its discriminatory values and practices as the state of Israel does*. Even South Africa seeks to convince the world that it is racial "separation" rather than racial discrimination which it practices against the indigenous African population. Israel, on the other hand, belligerently asserts and practices a "Jews only" policy even in the most basic and elemental areas of life including the right to live in Palestine, a policy which it honors in practice and sanctifies in ideology and legislation.

These violations of the basic assumptions and principles of civilized societies are serious enough when they are perpetrated by despots and tyrannical regimes. When they are incorporated in the basic values and practices of a society, as they have been in the case of Israel, they signify atavistic and regressive social behavior. This is the key to understanding the apparent Israeli enigma, the stark discrepancy between the image and the reality. In Israel, behind the glittering facade of a modern society lurks a chauvinistic tribal mind rooted in the dark ages.

History will judge Israel as the state which used modern means to revive discredited values and to achieve medieval ends. And history will condemn Israel as a society which popularized oppression.

May the Palestinian people, as they remember the victims of Sabra and Shatila, who have come to symbolize all the victims of Zionist repression, continue to resist the temptation to emulate their tormentors. May they continue to remember that they are not soldiers of vengeance, but seekers of justice. The cause of Palestine and the memory of its martyrs deserve to be so honored.

M. Hallaj

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THE REAGAN PLAN, ONE YEAR LATER

Naseer H. Aruri



The Reagan plan, which was unveiled one year ago, received immediate and unequivocal rejection from Israel and better than average marks from the Arabs. Israel considered it a demotion, when it actually expected to be rewarded for its attempt to obliterate Palestinian nationalism in 1982. While Reagan recognized that achievement by speaking about the "opportunity" which the war had afforded, his speech, nevertheless, placed that achievement within the general framework of America's broader goal of promoting stability in the region. A confrontation between the United States and Israel thus ensued. Begin was unwelcome in Washington and Reagan's photographs with Shamir were arranged in such a manner to project a tense political atmosphere. Israel's aspirations for the role of partner were not fulfilled.

Conversely, the Reagan plan raised high hopes among Arab leaders, who were anxious to transform a military defeat into something of a diplomatic victory. The six Arab League representatives made diligent efforts to bridge the gap between the Reagan plan and the Arab consensus, but their synthesis, reached at Fez, was deemed by Washington unworthy of a vanquished. King Hussein and Yaser Arafat explored the "association" clause in the Reagan plan for several months, but failed to approximate the American conception of a confederation.

By Spring 1983, there were no more justifications for keeping the plan alive. In fact, the Reagan plan arrived stillborn; neither the White House nor the State Department gave it the proper nourishment that would assure it a substantive role in U.S. Mideast diplomacy. The Reagan plan deteriorated steadily into the Schultz agreement on Lebanon. It may be recalled that the Camp David affair, with all its rhetoric about a comprehensive settlement, also deteriorated into a separate accord between Egypt and Israel. The only difference between the two is that the former did not even assure Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, while the latter freed Egypt at a high price.

The period between September 1, 1982, when Reagan announced his plan and May 1983, when Schultz released his, was one of re-examination and review of the U.S. global strategy in the Middle East. Under consideration were the United States-Israel special relationship, the role of conservative Arab regimes in U.S. strategic calculations, and the proper weight of the Palestine question in regional stability. A principal factor dividing the foreign policy establishment has been whether the United States was to pursue even-handedness in order to promote its national interest, or to focus on Israel as the *only* reliable ally and potent force for stability. With the intensification of the cold war and the muscle flexing of the Reagan administration, throughout the world, it was only a matter of time before even-handedness was pushed aside. By mid 1983, Washington was no longer defensive about the special relationship with Israel. It felt no obligation to act as if a West Bank solution was necessary and

proper, and it launched an offensive against the so-called moderate Arab states. Saudi Arabia was blamed for the lack of a Jordanian-Palestinian arrangement, and for Syria's refusal to be persuaded to accept withdrawal on Washington's terms. Jordan and Egypt were not considered much better.

Surely, the destruction of Lebanon embarrassed Washington, despite Haig's green light. The Reagan administration had to act, to repair, to assuage public opinion at home and abroad, and the Reagan plan was the instrument to defuse criticism of Arab inaction, and to reassert America's dominant role in the Middle East. But that the plan did upset Israel, is no longer relevant. The ordeal is over as far as Reagan is concerned. The Kahane Commission Report cleansed the system, removed the debris, identified the culprit, and restored Israel in America as a beacon of light and a model of justice worthy of being emulated. But above all, Israel was given tenure in the rank of a unique strategic ally and partner.

The Reagan plan was laid to rest in the American mausoleum of mideast peace initiatives, adjacent to the Rogers plan and others which were not meant for implementation. These plans remain symbols of American equivocation and Arab naivety. The old Reagan idea that Israel is the only reliable nation in the Middle East, while the Arab states are "weak" and "vulnerable," is re-emerging with vengeance. Very few, if any, mainstream U.S. politicians nowadays talk about even-handedness, in contrast with a year ago. Israel's thesis that the special relationship with the U.S. is *primary* while the search for a Palestinian settlement is secondary is gaining more currency in Washington. The Schultz agreement on Lebanon and its secret side letter to Shamir, which committed the U.S. to support Israel and to absolve it from withdrawing in the event of a Syrian refusal to withdraw, constitute a belated American reward for Israel's strategic contributions in 1982. Reagan's subsequent decision, urged by Schultz, to release the technology necessary for the development of Israel's new Lavie fighter plane, is another fringe benefit. Meanwhile, Israeli withdrawal from the West Bank and Gaza, in effect, has been removed from the active agenda. Israel's settlement policy, which is designed to seal the fate of the West Bank, and to deter the Palestinians from uniting territorially or politically into a coherent body, has just received a tremendous boost from the Reagan administration. The Reagan plan's provision on settlements was authoritatively interpreted by the State Department on August 3, 1983. The possibility of dismantling these settlements was declared an "impractical demand".

The entire U.S. tactic of pressuring Israel to induce more Arabs to cooperate with the so-called peace process yielded no results. The anticipated come-back of the Israeli Labor Party failed to materialize. The Reagan "confrontation" with
(continued on page 3)

Begin reached its limit and the relationship with Israel was restored. The United States no longer sees the Palestine question as the principal destabilizing factor in the region; hence there is no pressure, internal or external, to reverse the annexationist course of the Likud.

This reassessment is likely to be bolstered by the political imperatives of the approaching elections. The ascendancy of William Clark and the erosion of the State Department "Arabists" will help that process.

Will the Arab World raise the price of this policy? It has the capacity, but may lack the will to do so. □

SABRA AND SHATILA

Their Place in our Sensibility and National Struggle

Fawwaz Turki

After the three-day carnage was over—after the bodies were stacked in grotesque piles along the muddy lanes of our refugee camps, and after the children were hacked to death, with their bodies left to rot in the sun—the few survivors wandered the blood-soaked lanes of Sabra and Shatila. Of these, there were children who had no hands to hold; and the adults who were brought to the edge of hysteria at finding that all their family members were missing. One of these survivors, a woman in her 60s, shouted at a Western journalist: "Tell the world. Tell the world what happened!"

The world was told. And the world turned its back to us, as if to say that it has grown weary of turning, each time, in nauseated disbelief at Israel's repeated acts of monstrous evil.

Yet another survivor shouted at the same journalist: "Also tell the world that we shall never forget Sabra and Shatila!"

The echo of these words will be heard long after the voice is forgotten.

Sabra and Shatila will not be forgotten by us not only because the event has already entered our consciousness and caught flame; but also because, in a very vital and central way, every Palestinian has come to see himself as a survivor of the events of Sabra and Shatila. The events of Sabra and Shatila are an indivisible part of one's national identity and existential reality.

Just because an accident of good fortune did not put us there—when the Israelis and their Phalangist allies came to commit their bestialities—does not make us any less a part of the grief, any less affected by the unspeakable.

We were massacred at Sabra and Shatila not because we were Moslem or Christian, not because we were rich or poor, not because we were radical or conservative, and not because we were villagers or urbanites. We were massacred because we were *Palestinian*. That is why we were massacred in 1982 and why we were expelled from our homes and homeland in 1948. For when Jewish settlers set about terrorizing us into the exodus of 1948, what mattered most to them was that we were *Palestinians*, a people whose identity — the issue that transcended other considerations — harvested the living echo of its own being from the land.

They made of our identity cause in itself—for brutality, eviction, and terror.

Happily, Jewish settlers in Palestine, who brought with them then, and continue to practice today, the code of the bully, and the language of blood and fire, do not understand the dialectic of history.

It was precisely because of the nature of the fight that they chose to pick with us that our national identity has acquired its cohesiveness and habit of spirit. If we, as Palestinians, are being assaulted exclusively on the level of our national identity — with this assault bringing with it concussion bombs to blow off the lungs of our children and time-bombs to blow off the legs of our mayors—then it is our national identity that we shall protect and from which the roots of our total being shall grow.

For many years to come Sabra and Shatila will stay with us, its voice heard around every corner of our sensibility. No event in the history of a people is literally "over." For its energies and instigations never become wholly or partially dispersed. Rather, they come around to animate a new vitality in that people's struggle, to carry over strongly into their values, myth, vision and articulation of national mood.

Our expulsion from Palestine was done at a moment of our culture, and a place of our history, when we were *Palestinian*. Just as the massacres at Sabra and Shatila were committed against us at a similar moment and place of immediacy — when we continued to define ourselves as *Palestinian*, which is the greatest threat to an Israel that is afraid of the question: And if these people are Palestinian, then who is preventing them from returning to, and living in, Palestine?

That is why most events are about previous events, why everything that happens brings with it the history of everything that came before it. To see the context of a major event, such as Sabra and Shatila, in the experience of the Palestinian people, is to see the sum of its history, of everything that has gone before—and, indeed, of everything that will follow.

The war, then, that Israel has waged against us so relentlessly, so vindictively, is one that has been waged against us because our existence and our identity negate its own. You cannot create a *Jewish* state in a land whose original inhabitants are not Jewish, without pre-conditioning your experiment on the land alienation, expulsion and elimination of the Palestinians as a people, as a nation and as a movement.

And that, irreducibly, is what lies at the root of the massacre of the Palestinians in Sabra and Shatila, and what lies at the root of the destruction of Palestinian institutions and any Palestinian structure that organizes, orders and defines the Palestinian identity.

Again, we come face to face with the paradox of Israel's existence in Palestine: The more it impoverishes Palestinians, the more it actually enriches them. Being needs anti-being to acquire a revitalized sense of self-definition.

Each war Israel wages against us becomes more difficult for it to wage. Still, Israel keeps coming back, dragging its war wagon from one Arab country to another, from one Arab capital to another, from one refugee camp to another, from one occupied village to another, like a vulture running after carrion, believing that this war will be "the last war" to defeat us.

Lycurgus, the Spartan chief, had repeatedly advised the Spartans to adopt the doctrine of not fighting the same

enemy more than once, lest, in time, he learns to fight back. The Spartans ignored the advice and fought against Thebes a number of times—till they lost.

Lycurgus knew the dialectic of war and social reality. Happily, the Israelis do not.

The less than four decades of history covered by Israel's presence in Palestine are no more than the thickness of this typewriter mark on the scale that measures Arab history in Palestine. Very soon Arab history, prodded by the bleak nobility of Sabra and Shatila, will begin to reflect on itself again as it had been wont to do in the past.

And this is why it makes sense today to ask whether the force of prevision of the order of Menachem Begin, Ariel Sharon, Gush Emunim, Meir Kahan and others, about the destruction of Israel—repeated by them, and them alone it seems, to the point of litany—does not *prepare for* the event which it intimates. When Israelis become obsessed with “security” and claim that 10,000 Palestinian fighters or 2,000 *Morabutin* militia are a military threat to the “survival” of Israel—an entity that claims super-power rights to control the region, in the words of Sharon, all the way to Pakistan—they are doing more than pose a question or make a statement. The fact that they *can* and *do* ask a question like that, or adopt such a posture of sensibility, may be part of the process of disintegration which they presumably fear. And it could, conceivably, hasten it. After all, men do not ask questions until there is the objective possibility that raises it.

Bent on its present course of blood and fire, death and destruction, institutionalized sadism and hysterical expansion, Israel will inevitably, as those whose previsions about its ultimate disintegration intimate, run down and lose its military reflex—and later disappear, to lodge as the foot note that it will be accorded in history books. This might not be, for Sabra and Shatila, for the region and the world at large, a bad thing. □

THE WRITING ON THE WALL

Cordelia Edvardson*

Jerusalem.

One day recently while reading the Jerusalem *Post*, I started to cry.

Now, I am neither overly emotional nor sentimental. On the contrary, I am among those persons who have so much to cry about, they are afraid that once they start they may never stop.

I was reading about the argument over a bill in the Knesset (Parliament) concerning benefits to large families. The proposed benefits are to be given to families with members who served in the Army and to Yeshiva students, but not to the Arab citizens of the state of Israel [*as distinguished from Arabs who do not have Israeli citizenship, such as those of the West Bank*]. In defending this proposal, Ronnie Milo, chairman of the Likud faction, was quoted as having said, “The fact that so many Jews were slaughtered in the Holocaust justifies granting benefits solely to Jews.”

We survivors have by now got used to the fact that the sacred memory of the dead, our own suffering and the suffering of our children—the second generation—are ruthlessly



exploited for the sake of political arguments and political gains.

But Mr. Milo is doing more than that. He is using the dead and the living to justify a world view which, if put into practice, creates the kind of situation that made the Holocaust possible.

I am not saying that he is creating a Holocaust. I am saying that he is creating a political, moral and emotional climate that will provide fertile soil for a racist, fascist, totalitarian state. That is more than enough.

Racist, fascist and totalitarian societies are made possible by dividing the citizens into different categories or classes: the useful ones and the useless ones, those who “deserve” the help and the protection of the state and those who don’t, those whom society needs and those it can do without, the rulers with all the rights and the ruled with less or no rights at all. In a critical situation you, of course, preserve the useful ones and let the others die.

By the same token, Mr. Milo may propose that our overloaded hospitals be reserved for Jews only. After the death of 6 million of our people, it is of course much more important to save the life of a Jew than the life of an Arab.

Even our prisons are overcrowded—so let’s have different punishments for the same crime: one for Jews, one for Arabs. Oh, I forgot. We already do. There is one punishment for Arab stonethrowers and another for Jewish stonethrowers.

In the same issue of the *Post* I read that the minister of the Interior had ordered the release on bail of rioting Yeshiva students. During that riot a policewoman was knocked unconscious by a rock. I remember the same minister explaining that rocks are deadly weapons and that stonethrowers must therefore be dealt with harshly—Arab stonethrowers, that is.

Mr. Milo is entitled to his opinions and the voicing of them, even if they are racist, fascist and, in my opinion, totally immoral. I can only plead with him not to invoke the Holocaust. We survivors—and I know I speak on behalf of many, if not all of them—get so scared. We can read the writing on the wall, interpret the signs.

True, we won’t be the victims when Mr. Milo and people like him have created a society in which a new Holocaust is possible. We won’t stay around to wait for it this time. We will pack up and leave.

Our Arab cousins in the occupied territories—Mr. Milo would call them liberated—talk about *samidin*, the steadfast, the persevering, the ones who, whatever the conditions, stay put, cling to their soil and homes. I don’t know that we survivors who came to this country to live and die as free, proud Jews, should do the same. We should stay put and fight people like Mr. Milo. But I am afraid we are just too tired. We don’t have the strength. We have had enough. □

* Cordelia Edvardson is a survivor of Auschwitz. She is now an Israeli citizen. This article is reprinted from the *Baltimore Sun*, 10 August, 1983.



PLO

News and Views

LEBANON THREATENED WITH PARTITION

(In his address to the recent meeting of the PLO Central Council, Chairman Yasser Arafat accused the United States of seeking to Balkanize the Middle East as a part of its drive to dominate the region. This strategy, he said, explains the U.S.-Israeli effort to eliminate the PLO from the political map. The political editor of WAFA, the Palestinian News Agency, warns in the following analysis that efforts are underway to fragment Lebanon as a prelude to the Balkanization of the Middle East):

Current developments in Lebanon and the fierce fighting in the mountains and on the outskirts of Beirut, which becomes more ferocious every day, raises questions about Lebanon's future, especially that the multinational forces have begun to intervene in the fighting. This involvement may escalate, and it may involve Israeli participation to settle the struggle in accordance with U.S. plans for Lebanon and the Middle East.

What was announced after three days of consultations between Washington and Tel Aviv on how to deal with the situation in Lebanon indicates that the scale of confrontation may widen to achieve the aim of partitioning Lebanon as a first step in the fragmentation of the whole region and to secure it as an American sphere of influence for decades to come. The U.S. seeks hegemony over the area not only to exploit its resources but also to establish forward military bases and make it an arena of destructive confrontation in a future war.

THE PALESTINIAN

by Hanna A. Saadah

*I leave with barren arms that used to bear
The fruits of life with young unmindful air
I flee with years upon my heels and drought
Within my eyes, where do I go . . . Oh where?*

*Of life, I am a restless wondering breath
Romantic, final, intimate like death
Why do I shed my leaves in spring and waste
my ancient wine upon this heedless earth?*

*Beirut is mourning—robed in smoky skies
I hear her coughing bombs and bloody cries
from heaps of pregnant rabble quickening
with mothers' arms and little children's eyes.*

*But Palestinians cannot mourn their dead
Too many die each day, nor home, nor bread
while all the silent world stands watching
Justice of the bombs engulf the meek and spread.*

*I am the haunting thorn of truth "they" heed
The faith, the goal, the dream, my people need
And I persist, a sore upon "their" eyes
And more, a rose upon our tombs that bleed.*

*I will not hate, I love, I will not hate
I am the noble son of earth and fate
Nor will I yield to justice of the bombs
I am the patient truth, and I can wait.*

from AAUG Newsletter, Vol. XV, No. 8, October, 1982

Are the U.S. and Israel hesitant about escalating their role out of fear of involvement in war, or are they waiting for the right moment when de facto partition has been achieved? Careful reading of U.S. statements and military moves, and U.S.-Israeli coordination indicate the latter eventuality to be more likely.

Lebanese and Arab responses should be based on the importance of reconciliation among themselves to preserve Lebanon as a united Arab country. Lebanese national reconciliation is the only way to prevent partition.

There was much whispering and outright accusation blaming the Palestinian revolution for the lack of Lebanese reconciliation. Even many Lebanese and Arabs believed such accusation, although the Palestinian revolution always proved the opposite. Today, it is clear more than ever before that the Palestinian revolution was a safeguard for the unity of Lebanon and its people. Its departure from Beirut opened the way to partition, an objective which the U.S. and Israel now seek to achieve.

CENTRAL COUNCIL MEETING

The Central Council of the PLO met early in August for the first time since the sixteenth session of the Palestine National Council in Algiers. The three-day meeting was attended by 77 of its 81 members, including chairman Yasser Arafat, and was chaired by PNC president Khaled al-Fahoum. The final communique issued by the Central Council stressed the following points:

1- The Council affirmed the importance of implementing the PNC resolution to establish a patriotic front in occupied Palestine as an arm of the PLO to resist Zionist efforts to depopulate the occupied territories.

2- The Council stressed the importance of rebuilding Palestinian-Syrian relations on the basis of cooperation in the struggle against Zionist aggression and the imperial domination of the Middle East through the Camp David agreement, the Reagan plan, and the U.S.-Israeli agreement imposed on Lebanon. For this reason, the Council decided to establish a committee from its members to pursue this matter and to deal with internal Palestinian questions.

3- The Council expressed concern about the continuation of fighting in the Beqá, and called on all parties concerned to cease armed conflict. It recommended to the Executive Committee the establishment of a military committee to supervise the cease-fire.

4- The Council expressed support for the heroic resistance in occupied Lebanon and affirmed the unity of the Palestinian-Lebanese struggle against the common enemy. The Council also called on the government of Lebanon to shoulder its responsibility to ensure the security of the civilian Palestinian population, and to carry out its commitment regarding the political presence of the PLO and its social and cultural institutions.

5- The Council expressed concern at the harassment of Palestinians in some Arab countries, particularly regarding their right to employment and travel.

6- The Council called on all patriotic Arab forces to confront the U.S.-Israeli conspiracy to partition Lebanon and to dominate the Middle East.

Ilham's
Wedding
Invitation

حرم صبحي محمد ابوزعور (أم محمد)
حرم ابراهيم محمد ابوزعور (أم زباد)
تتشرفان بعيده عتيقة ليد صبور حفلة زفاف ولديهما
باسم
الهام
وذلك ما بين الساعة السابعة والتاسعة من مساء يوم الاحد الموافق ١٩٨٣ / ٧ / ٣١
في صالة ستوديو العاصي بنابلس
وستنجز بهجته للفنم

THE DEATH OF A BRIDE

Ilham Abuzarour, 20, was shot and killed by armed Israelis in Nablus on 26 July as she was doing last minute shopping for her wedding, due to take place five days later. The bride to be and her cousin, Miriam, who was also shot but survived, were leaving a shop in downtown Nablus when they were gunned down.

Israel radio reported the next day that Dr. Jihad Awnallah, who removed the bullet from Ilham's body in a futile attempt to save her life, was arrested by the occupation authorities and charged with "attempting to conceal evidence." The radio explained that the Israeli soldiers who went into Nablus hospital where Ilham was being operated on found the bullet taken out of her body in the surgeon's pocket.

PALESTINE INFORMATION OFFICE DENOUNCES ATTACK ON HEBRON UNIVERSITY

The following is the text of the statement issued by the Palestine Information Office in Washington on 26 July, the day of the attack on the University of Hebron:

Today, an armed gang of Israeli-Jewish settlers stormed the University of Hebron, in the Israeli-occupied West Bank, and machine gunned students in the classrooms. Three students were murdered instantly, and 28 others were wounded, six of them seriously. This unprovoked slaughter of unarmed Palestinian students inside a university campus ushers the mature stage in Israel's occupation. It is an awesome reminder of Israel's resolve to bring about a "final solution" to the Palestinian question.

The Palestinian people have been calling attention to the ordeal of their people living under a most cruel occupation, which deprived them of

their land and resources, destroyed their institutions, and denied them their liberty. Now they find it necessary to call attention to an ongoing holocaust, to a campaign of physical extermination.

It has been generally recognized that continued Israeli occupation of Palestinian lands is an impediment to peace and stability in the Middle East. It is time to recognize its murderous potential and bloody consequences. When Israel manages to whitewash a genocide in Sabra and Shatila, the massacre in Hebron becomes a logical consequence.

Opposition to continued Israeli occupation has been a requirement of fair politics: *it has become a moral imperative*. We call on you to speak out fearlessly and with all the force of your conviction on behalf of a captive community whose very survival has become exposed to a clear and present danger.

Palestine Information Office
Washington, D.C.
July 26, 1983



REPRESSION OF THE PRESS

The Israeli occupation authorities continued to suppress the Palestinian press in the occupied territories. The Palestinian literary magazine *al-Shira*, published in Jerusalem, was closed in August.

At the same time, the editorial offices of *al-Fajr*, Jerusalem newspaper, were damaged when a group of Israelis attacked them with incendiary bombs. This is the second bombing of the newspaper, which was also bombed in 1980 as a warning to stop publication. More than once, *al-Fajr* staff also came under attack. Last year, Hanna Seniora was the victim of a car-burning incident. Last July, the occupation authorities banned Awwad Abdul Fattah, a staff writer for the English edition of the newspaper, from entering the West Bank and Gaza.

ANSAR PRISONERS REBEL AGAINST THEIR GUARDS

Reports from occupied south Lebanon speak of another revolt by the inmates of Ansar concentration camp against their Israeli guards. Israeli soldiers fired on the prisoners, wounding a number of them.

The political prisoners clashed with the Israeli soldiers using stones and iron bars. They raised Palestinian flags and shouted PLO slogans. This revolt, reported by Wafa on 12 September, marks the first anniversary of the Sabra-Shatila massacres.

The occupation forces reinforced the camp's garrison, and patrolled the area with armored vehicles and helicopters as a precaution against attempted escapes. Groups of prisoners from the Ansar camp managed to escape on several occasions in the past, and some of the escaped prisoners participated in the acts of resistance against the Israeli occupation army. Journalists have reported that the prisoners managed to dig a network of tunnels under the camp, which they used to escape.

Life Under Occupation

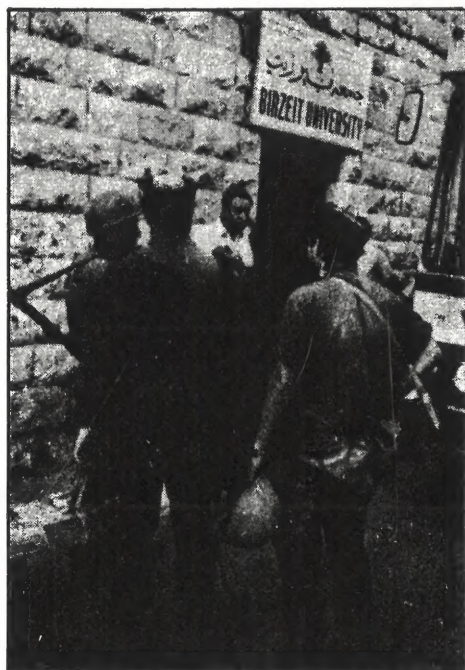
THE FORBIDDEN PHOTO

The Israeli military court in Nablus sentenced Ahmad Sami Kilani, 19, to six months in prison on 28 July. He was found guilty of possession of a photograph of Dalal al-Mughrabi, a Palestinian school girl who was killed by Israeli soldiers during a demonstration in the West Bank, and a copy of a speech by a PLO leader. The occupation authorities had previously closed down the shop where the speech was printed in Jerusalem.

EDUCATION IN THE SHADOW OF A GUN

An Israeli military court in Gaza continued the trial of seven students from Gaza University. They are accused of having entered student government elections earlier this year as a national bloc. The bloc, the Israeli prosecutor contends, is a political organization.

In Jabalia refugee camp in the Gaza



MARCH ON JERUSALEM

A march on Jerusalem to commemorate the massacres of Sabra and Shatila and to publicize the struggle for Palestinian national rights will take place on Sunday, 18 September. A committee of prominent international figures and Palestinian and Israeli personalities has been formed to prepare for the march, which will converge on Jerusalem from various parts of Palestine and abroad. The marchers' principal demands include self-determination for the Palestinian people and Israeli withdrawal from all of the occupied territories. The sponsors of the march include internationally known public figures, scholars, scientists, nobel prize winners, human rights activists, and artists. The march will endorse and proclaim the following declaration:

DECLARATION

The Palestinian people have lived for thirty-five years in diaspora, military occupation and a condition of second class citizenship. Subject to indignity and persecution, lacking control over their lives and destinies, the Palestinian plight embodies the injustice of our time.

The moment is at hand to right this great wrong. Let the crime of silence not be perpetrated for yet another generation.

The Palestinian people cry out for civil liberty, democratic rights and for self-determination. They seek due process and an end to torture. They ask the release of all political prisoners. They demand the right to form trade unions and to strike. They call for the end of the confiscation of their land. They desire free elections and their own political

parties which will see their representatives in the highest councils of state.

These are basic human rights, inalienable rights which all who believe in democracy demand for everyone.

The Palestinian people need international support. They must have our help.

Peaceful demonstrators are clubbed off the streets. Children distributing leaflets are sentenced to prison. Entire towns are subject to prolonged twenty-four hour curfew. Vast numbers of the young and adult male population have passed through prison under conditions of torture.

The culmination of this cumulative denial of Palestinian humanity is massacre: the massacres of Deir Yassin, Qibya, Kafr Qassem, the massacre of Sabra and Shatila, and the future massacre of which the Palestinian people live in constant fear.

We appeal as human beings. Help us commemorate Sabra and Shatila, the emblem of Palestinian suffering which aroused the conscience of the world.

We pledge our support for a march to Jerusalem on September 18, 1983, a mobilization in the tradition of that great democratic movement for civil rights launched two decades ago in Selma, Alabama.

Now as then, let us walk together. We raise the banner of self-determination for the Palestinian people and of immediate Israeli withdrawal from all occupied territory, firm in the conviction that oppression, discrimination and the perpetual denial of simple justice are certain enemies of peace.

strip, the occupation authorities ordered the transfer of 400 high school students to Khan Yunis as a measure of collective punishment for participation in demonstrations against the occupation during the past school year. The arbitrary transfer of students and teachers is a frequently used form of punishment to discourage political expression in the occupied territories.

The worst recent incident involving Israeli terror against educational institutions in the occupied territories took place on 26 July when a group of armed settlers stormed the campus of the University of Hebron killing three and wounding more than thirty students and faculty members. As usual in the case of Israeli violence against Palestinians, no one was arrested or charged.



SETTLER TERRORISM

A former chief of Israel's General Security Services described Israel's settlements in the occupied territories as "a hothouse for the growth of terrorism." Avraham Ahituv should know. He headed Israel's security apparatus from 1974 to 1980 when he resigned after complaining that he was prevented by the Israeli government from pursuing the investigation of the attempted assassination of three Palestinian mayors in 1980.

In an article he published recently in the Israeli newspaper *Davar*, Mr. Ahituv suggested that the assassination attempts against the mayors, which maimed two of them, and the recent attack on the University of Hebron which caused the death of three students and instructors and left more than thirty others wounded, were the work of fanatical Israeli settlers in the West Bank.

After his article appeared, Mr. Ahituv was subjected to attacks by pro-settlement politicians in Israel for allegedly endangering Israel's security and for the betrayal of his obligation as a former chief of security to maintain silence on such matters.

Mr. Ahituv does not object to Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. He only wants the process organized in such a way that violent acts by armed settlers against Palestinian civilians may be curtailed. For example, he recom-

mends that Jewish settlements be established where their safety can be guaranteed.

The occupied territories, governed since 1967 by the Israeli occupation army, have been increasingly terrorized by armed settlers many of whom subscribe to the proposition that the remnants of Palestinian society must be driven out of the country.

A public commission was appointed in Israel to investigate this ominous phenomenon of rising settler violence against the civilian population of the occupied territories, and was headed by Yehudit Karp, Israel's deputy attorney-general. The commission's report, however, was buried by the Israeli government, suggesting official complicity with the settlers and affinity with their objective.

MORE SETTLER VIOLENCE

The body of Ahmad Abdul Qadir Salman, 22, from Surif in al-Khalil (Hebron) district of the West Bank was found on 10 August with several bullet and stab wounds. On the same day, five Palestinian workers were wounded when the truck in which they were traveling to work in occupied Palestine came under fire as it passed by Kiryat Gat settlement. The wounded included a 10-year boy who was shot in his eye, and a 50-year old woman who was shot in the head. Eyewitnesses said the attackers were Israeli settlers.

NEW SETTLEMENTS

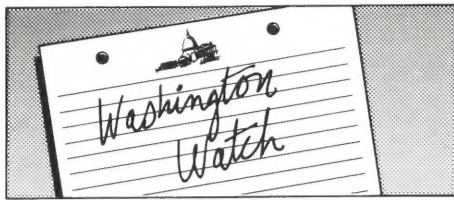
The ministerial committee on settlements approved the establishment of two more settlements in the occupied West Bank. One of them, Antel, is to be built near Hebron to house 200 Jewish families. The other Ganim B, to be built near Jenin, is designed to accommodate 300 families.

Israeli settlements are built on confiscated Palestinian land, and they are strictly reserved for Jewish settlers.

ISRAEL SEEKS PEACE WITH ITS SHADOW

Unwilling to do what it takes to make peace with the world, Israel is trying to make peace with its own shadow. For this reason it conceived, produced and orchestrated a third-rate show called the "Village Leagues." These are small bands of quislings and mercenaries from the occupied territories whom Israel hopes to parade before the world as the true and authentic voice of the Palestinian people. Israel picks them, finances them, arms them, and moves them.

Recently, Israel moved them to proclaim a "Palestinian National Charter for Peace," as a part of its unceasing and futile attempt to counterfeit the will of the Palestinian people. No one has taken the Israeli forgery seriously, least of all the Palestinians under occupation. But Israel keeps trying, determined to live in a world of make believe of its own making.



PALESTINIAN SALUTE TO COALITION OF CONSCIENCE

Mr. Yasser Arafat, Chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, expressed Palestinian solidarity with the March on Washington and its commitment to human rights. In a message addressed to the organizers of the march, Mr. Arafat said: "Our people both in occupied Palestine and in exile lock arms with you on this occasion in fraternal solidarity with your struggle." Following is the text of Mr. Arafat's message:

On behalf of my brothers in the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization and in the name of the Palestinian people who are struggling to achieve their redemption from the yoke of occupation, discrimination, and oppression and for the enjoyment of their inalienable rights to self determination, statehood, return to their homeland, and freedom, we wish to commend your efforts in bringing hundreds of thousands of Americans to Washington to commemorate the historic march led by the great martyr Dr. Martin Luther King.

We the Palestinian people are heartened by this great development which we believe reflects the true commitment of the American people to build a new coalition of conscience that represents the true soul of the American democracy.

We would like you to know that our people both in occupied Palestine and in exile lock arms with you on this occasion in fraternal solidarity with your struggle to achieve the dream of Dr. Martin Luther King for a new society where equality, justice, peace and love would prevail.

Palestinians: We too have a dream!

COMMENTARY . . . WHY THE TAIL WAGS THE DOG

Domestic and foreign observers of the administration's Middle East policy are practically unanimous in the conclusion that it is aimlessly wandering in a wilderness. The U.S. wants to solidify its cooperation with "moderate" Arab states, but it provokes Kuwait with its insensitivity by springing on it a decision to send to it an envoy it considers objectionable. It wants Jordan to cooperate with it in its peace initiative, but it humiliates it by allowing the Israeli lobby to veto Jordanian arms purchases from the United States. It wants to support Saudi Arabia's leadership in the Arab world, then it assigns to it the role of America's errand boy in the region. It complains against Israeli settlement policy in the occupied territories but objects to calling the settlements illegal. It supports the independence of Lebanon but sanctions continued Israeli military presence on Lebanese soil. It wants a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, but it boycotts a United Nations conference on Palestine. And this is just a sample.

Roles within the administration are shuffled, diplomats are made to play musical chairs, and envoys shuttle back and forth. And it all gives the illusion of an unfolding scheme and emerging purpose. Meanwhile, the presidential campaign approaches, mercifully providing an excuse for the reigning confusion.

The truth of the matter is that the United States is not incapable of taking hold of itself. It is not that it cannot rationalize the distribution of roles within the establishment, or that it cannot contain personal rivalries. It is not even true, as it is too often said, that the American political establishment gets paralyzed come election time. The problem is that *the United States has abdicated its Middle East policy-making to the state of Israel and its local agents*. The United States has accepted the role of global lobbyist for the state of Israel. When Israel wants to diminish its diplomatic isolation in the world, the U.S. moves to persuade targeted states to restore relations with it. When Israel needs to discredit an international gathering, the U.S. boycotts it. And when Israel wants to deter certain states (as when the European community thought of the need for a European initiative on the Middle East), the United States growls at them. And so forth.

One can argue about why the tail wags the dog, but it is not difficult to see that it does. The United States has paid for this fact with frustrating confusion in its highest councils, and with repeated embarrassments in the world. More recently, it caused American blood to be spilled needlessly in the Middle East. The United States cannot afford to continue to subcontract its Middle East policy to one of the antagonists in the conflict, unless it is willing to share Israel's quagmire and isolation. □



HOW TO SILENCE THE PALESTINIAN VOICE: AIPAC'S PLAN

In its latest Annual Policy Conference, held in Washington earlier this summer, the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee, which is the Israeli lobby in the United States, mapped out a plan for thought control on American college campuses. The general objective of the plan is "to thwart pro-Palestinian presentations on campus." Here is how AIPAC's "Battle for the Campus" is intended to work:

AIPAC's "BATTLE FOR THE CAMPUS" PROGRAM

AIPAC is concerned that pro-Palestinian and anti-Zionist speakers on college campuses are affecting the perception of Israel in the minds of the next generation of voters and political leaders. It objects to Jewish students even being exposed to "anti-Israel propaganda," claiming that anti-Zionist Jewish speakers disorient and brainwash Jewish students. Since 1980, AIPAC has employed Jonathan Kessler to run a "Political Leadership Development Program" which trains student activists on how to increase pro-Israeli influence on campus.

Kessler spoke after Gooft about the Arab lobby on U.S. campuses. He linked anti-Semitic quotes from Stokely Carmichael campus talks and Jews-into-the-sea quotes from Palestinian Student Union speakers with accounts of Arab endowments at universities such as the University of South Carolina King Faisal Chair in Islamic Studies and the Libyan gift to Georgetown. Like Gooft, Kessler emphasized attacking and criticizing Arab countries and society in order to deflect criticism from Israel.

The Political Leadership program has three parts to play in what Kessler called the "Battle for the Campus":

Political Action Workshops

Kessler has given workshops on 350 campuses in 50 states, training some 5000 students in the last three years. Students learn pro-Zionist and anti-Arab arguments, how to organize on their campus, how to thwart pro-Palestinian presentations on campus, how to influence campus media, and how to influence the political process outside campus by working in political campaigns.

Middle East Speakers

Through his wide-ranging campus contacts in every state, Kessler monitors all speakers giving pro-Palestinian or anti-Israeli talks. His campus contacts send him tapes or notes from these talks which Kessler keeps on file and they alert him about upcoming speaking engagements. When Kessler hears from a campus that speaker XYZ is coming on a certain date, he sends summaries of the speaker's usual points and arguments, his question-answer style, and potentially damaging quotes from other talks. Kessler specializes in concocting questions the speaker will have difficulty with, and warning campus organizers away from questions he answers well. If the speaker is considered especially good at fielding questions (Noam Chomsky, for example) Kessler will provide a list of suggested questions (under constant revision to keep the surprise element) which the students put on a flier and hand out to the audience as they enter the talk. This approach is also used at campuses where the pro-Israeli faction is too small to stack the audience. If the campus has AIPAC members or graduates of Kessler's workshops, Kessler will help them plan strategies best suited for their campus. When a pro-Arab speaker is coming, they consult with Kessler on their response: should they pack the meeting with pro-Israelis to create the image of popular support for Israel, should they compete with the speaker by holding their own Middle Eastern event (free films, folk dancing), should they try to pre-empt his message by holding a pro-Israel meeting immediately beforehand, or use his talk to leaflet and advertise the next upcoming pro-Israeli event?

Campus-Wide Strategy

Kessler has developed several ploys to make it difficult for pro-Palestinian speakers to appear by building pro-Israeli political strength on campus. If the Student Union or Academic Senate controls what groups may be allowed to reserve halls, Kessler works to get friends of Israel into those bodies. (In one apolitical campus he succeeded in having a well-organized Jewish fraternity sweep the student government elections.) If the control is with the administration, speakers are accused of advocating violence, either by quoting earlier speeches or characterizing them as pro-PLO. AIPAC students also argue

that certain fora should not be "politicized" such as memorial lectures. While this may not always bar the speaker, Kessler advises that "if you make it hot enough" for the administrators, future events will be discouraged and turned down rather than scheduled.

Student media are also important since Palestinian students and Third World-oriented groups have easy access to the campus newspaper and radio station. AIPAC students receive training in Kessler's workshops on how to respond and pre-empt pro-Arab articles, how to approach and influence media staff, and how to obtain editorial positions themselves.

Once a solid AIPAC contingent is formed, it takes part in student conferences and tries to forge coalitions with other student groups, usually quite successfully. AIPAC then has pro-Israel resolutions passed in these bodies; coordinates pressure for pro-Israel policies on campuses and in political campaigns; and can run pro-Israel advertisements signed by the Americans for Democratic Action and Young Americans for Freedom, rather than just by AIPAC.

SENATE PURGE

American Zionists seem to believe that the Congress of the United States is a super-lobby for the state of Israel. Enlightened by this view, and motivated by this vision, they have begun to beat the drums of war against Senator Charles Percy.

An anti-Percy circular being distributed described the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee as "Israel's most powerful adversary in the United States Senate." The circular informs its readers that "he's up for reelection next year and, if we start today, we can defeat him."

A retired U.S. ambassador who received this anti-Percy literature in the mail commented on the Zionist effort to purge the U.S. Senate, in a letter to the editor of the *Christian Science Monitor*, published on 15 August 1983, by saying: "Clearly, Zionists are judging the senator's record as committee chairman solely by their perception of his actions regarding Israel rather than whether he has done a good job for the United States." So what's new?

RUN FOR PALESTINIAN UNIVERSITIES

An athletic event, called "Run for Palestinian Universities" by its sponsors, will be held in California to publicize Israeli repression of academic freedom in the occupied territories and to raise scholarship funds to support Palestinian women students at Birzeit University. The event, which will take place on Sunday, 2 October, is sponsored by NAJDA (Women Concerned About the Middle East) and CAFIOT (Committee for Academic Freedom in the Israeli Occupied Territories). The run will be five or ten kilometers, once or twice around Lake Merritt in Oakland.

Palestinian universities in the occupied territories have been subjected to increasing harassment by the Israeli authorities. They have been deprived of their status as tax exempt educational institutions, which they enjoyed before Israel occupied the rest of Palestine in 1967. They suffer from censorship on books, from restrictions on their freedom to accept students and to recruit faculty members, from frequent curfews, and from direct armed assault against them, as has happened recently in the University of Hebron.

CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

The Coalition Against Genocide and Ethnocide (CAGE) convened a national conference on "Crimes Against Humanity" in Chicago on September 17-18, 1983. The conference was held to commemorate the first anniversary of Sabra and Shatila massacres which "crowned" the Israeli invasion of Lebanon last summer, and to remind us that "as sisters and brothers, we all suffer the consequences of genocide and ethnocide," according to the organizers, and to remind us of "our responsibilities for one another in preserving the sanctity of human life."

The conference discussed genocide and international law, and the experience of various peoples who have been victimized by the crimes of genocide and ethnocide, including the Palestinian people. The event also included a "Candlelight Vigil and Ecumenical Worship" as a one-year remembrance of the Sabra and Shatila massacres.

(continued on page 12)

U.S. AID TO ISRAEL: QUESTIONS BEGGING FOR ANSWERS

"Aid to Israel . . . is twice the amount the United States has given to the entire continent of Africa."

Earlier this year, the Subcommittee on Europe and the Middle East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representatives held hearings on U.S. economic and military aid to Europe and the Middle East. The record of the hearings pertaining to Israel reveals how irrational and ritualistic American support for Israel has become. "Support for Israel's security and economic well-being is a basic firm principle of American foreign policy," said Mr. Nicholas A. Veliotis, Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs to the subcommittee, in the manner of one who had memorized his lines well. "Our support for Israel," he continued to enlighten his listeners, "grows out of a longstanding commitment to a free nation which has been a haven for immigrants from all over the world and which shares many of our own social and democratic traditions." After Sabra and Shatila, not to mention other Israeli contributions to contemporary history, such a statement is nothing less than a compelling testimony to the power and survival capability of mythology. Some would say, and would be entitled to say, that it is indeed an insult to America's social and democratic traditions. And when questions are raised, on behalf of the American taxpayer, about why and how heavily Israel should be subsidized by the United States, the answers given are usually vague, contradictory, and most unsatisfying. Example:

Q. Mr. Mervyn M. Dymally (California): "The Jerusalem Post reported earlier this year that costs of settling each family in the West Bank is approximately \$150,000. There are also reports that Israel is luring settlers into the occupied territories by subsidizing housing at prices cheaper than those found in Israel itself. Even though the United

States has written agreements with Israel that they will not spend aid in occupied territories, can we assume that by giving so much aid their money is freed up to continue settlements in the West bank and Gaza Strip?"

A. Mr. Veliotis: "In the sense that money is fungible, Mr. Dymally, I guess you could make that statement." (This means: "Yes, Mr. Dymally, you are right.") "We have no reason to believe however that the government of Israel has ever violated its agreements with us on the use of American aid funds." (This means: "No, Mr. Dymally, you are wrong.")

We hope that by now you understand, dear reader, why we decided that it would be more informative to give you the rest of the questions Congressman Dymally asked without the answers Mr. Veliotis did not give. If we ever run into honest answers to Mr. Dymally's questions, we promise to bring them to your attention. And now here are the rest of Mr. Dymally's questions:

Q. Mr. Secretary, the week before last I held the first in a series of community forums dealing with the problem of jobs, social security, military expenditures and foreign aid. On the question of foreign aid I believe 95 percent of the people present at the city hall in Carson, Calif., thought I ought to vote against increased expenditures for foreign aid. And for the first time in 3 years since I have been in that district there were some critical questions about aid to Israel. And the first time in 20 years that I have been in public life that those questions were being raised publicly. So these questions I ask you are based on the concern that is arising across the country, in particular my district, about the question of increased military expenditures, and foreign aid.

The Jerusalem Post reported earlier this year that Israeli Defense Ministry officials estimated that the cost of the invasion of Lebanon until march 1983 would be \$38.2 billion Israeli shekels corresponding to approximately \$1.125 billion U.S. dollars.

The President of the United States has called for the withdrawal from Lebanon of all foreign forces including Israel. He has described Israel's presence in Lebanon as that of an occupying power, thus putting them in the role of violating the Arms Export Control Act. In view of these facts, can we justify increased military assistance to Israel?

A.

Q. I want to assess the aid relationship between the United States and our ally Israel. A great deal of disturbing evidence demonstrates that this aid is not contributing to building an indigenously healthy economy in Israel. In fact, evidence bears out the fact that Israel's economy is, pure and simple, insolvent at this time. In the last few years U.S. aid to Israel has fluctuated between \$2.5 and \$2.7 billion for a country with a population of approximately 3.5 million.

Question: Could it be that at present the basic structure of the Israeli economy as it is dependent upon enormous amounts of U.S. aid will continue to be used in a way which does not produce a stable and solvent economy or could it be the basic aid relationship between the United States and Israel needs to be reevaluated until Israel can learn to spend most of its funds on economic development instead of military assistance and using funds for development in the occupied territories?

A.

Q. Aid to Israel between 1974 and 1982 came to a total of about \$22.6 billion according to the GAO (General Accounting Office), that is twice the amount the United States has given to the entire

continent of Africa in a shorter period of time and 25 percent more than all U.S. aid to Latin America. With a very weak indigenous economy, in fact virtually insolvent, how can we explain to our constituents back home, as well as try to rationalize to ourselves, why we give so much aid to Israel, which in comparison to other aid programs for other regions is astronomically high?

A.

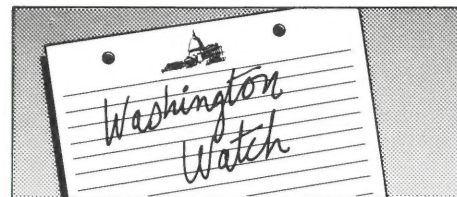
Q. The magnitude of U.S. aid to Israel has escalated dramatically in the past 10 years, while the terms have become increasingly concessionary. In 1972, official U.S. aid aggregated some \$475 million, 88 percent of which was a loan. Today of the \$2.5 billion in official aid, over 60 percent or \$1.5 billion is a direct grant which need not be repaid while the remainder is loans with 10-year grace periods, 20- to 30-year amortizations and at interest rates below market level.

Given the concessionary terms the grant component of the loans is more than one-fifth, so that more than two-thirds of U.S. official aid is equivalent to grants.

How can the United States afford to give so much money in view of our economic crisis in the United States; how can we continue to do it for a country that has rejected the President's peace initiatives, stepped up its settlements in the occupied territories and continues to remain entrenched in Lebanon?

A.

These are reasonable questions, and they merit reasonable answers.



The conference was sponsored by many human rights organizations including the Arab-American Anti-Discrimination Committee, the Kurdish Democratic Organization, Operation PUSH, Palestine Human Rights Campaign, the Association of Arab-American University Graduates, the United Holy Land Fund, and others.

QUOTE UNQUOTE

"Beirut is one heckuva long way from the 25 mile buffer area the Israelis said they wanted to secure. And neither is this war an effort to wipe out the PLO.

This is an attempt to wipe out as many Palestinians as they can . . . an extension if you will of their policy on the West Bank and Gaza."

Jim Vance, commentary, NBC News, June 1982

"But does Israel's security have to be purchased by the slaughter of innocents? We don't think so.

You are properly concerned with the safety of Israel. Over the years since Israel's founding we have demonstrated our concern, perhaps not always so strongly as you would have us do. But there is something else that comes to us from our founders. It is what Thomas Jefferson called "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind."

You ignored that when you bombed Beirut, Sidon and Tyre."

Mary McGrory, *Boston Globe*, 20 June 1982

From "terrorist," to "terror nest," to mass murder: you can't kill the Palestinian idea without breaking some eggs. The US press assisted for years in that confiscation of identity and humanity which, for at least a thousand Palestinian men, women and children, culminated in that final, dreadful confiscation of life.

Alexander Cockburn, *Village Voice*, 28 September 1982



SABRA AND SHATILA: CRIME OF GENOCIDE

The indiscriminate mass murder of Palestinian civilians in the camps of Sabra and Shatila a year ago was an act of genocide, not in rhetoric, but according to international laws and conventions. The United Nations General Assembly so determined in the following resolution, passed on 16 December 1982:

The General Assembly:

Recalling its resolution 95 (I) of 11 December 1946,

Recalling also its resolution 96 (I) of December 1946, in which it, *inter alia*, affirmed that genocide is a crime under international law which the civilized world condemns, and for the commission of which principals and accomplices—whether private individuals, public officials

or statesmen, and whether the crime is committed on religious, racial, political or any other grounds—are punishable.

Referring to the provisions of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, adopted by the General Assembly on 9 December 1948,

Recalling the relevant provision of the Geneva Convention relative to the protection of Civilians in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

Appalled at the large-scale massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps situated in Beirut,

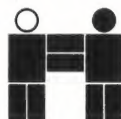
Recognizing the universal outrage and condemnation of that massacre,

Recalling its resolution ES-7/9 of 24 September 1982,

1. *Condemns* in the strongest terms the large-scale massacre of Palestinian civilians in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps,

2. *Resolves* that the massacre was an act of genocide.

UNITED NATIONS



Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination

ISRAEL-SOUTH AFRICA AXIS CONDEMNED BY WORLD BODY

The Second World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination condemned Israeli and South African racism against the indigenous peoples of Palestine and South Africa, and deplored the unholy alliance between the two racist states. The Declaration issued by the UN-sponsored conference, which convened in Geneva from 1-12 August, called on Israel to cease "all the practices of racial discrimination to which the Palestinians and the other inhabitants of the Arab territories occupied by Israel are subjected."

The conference described Israeli-South African cooperation, particularly in the economic and military fields, as "a hostile act against the oppressed people of South Africa." It also expressed concern about "the insidious propaganda by Israel against the United Nations and against governments which are firmly opposed to *apartheid*."

The conference marked the conclusion of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism, which was launched in 1973 by a

resolution of the United Nations General Assembly. It was attended by representatives of 126 state members of the United Nations but was boycotted by Israel, South Africa, and the United States. Also represented in the conference were national liberation movements recognized by the Organization of African Unity, and national liberation movements enjoying permanent observer status in the United Nations, like the Palestine Liberation Organization. The Palestinian delegation to the conference included Mr. Hassan Abdul Rahman, Director of the Palestine Information Office in Washington, Mr. Nabil Ramlawi, PLO representative in Geneva, and Mr. Shawki Armali, PLO representative in Athens.

Zionism, which spawned the state of Israel, guides its policies, and conditions its behavior, masqueraded before world public opinion as the "national liberation movement of the Jewish people," but was determined by the international community to be a form of racism and racial discrimination. A resolution to that effect was passed by the United Nations General Assembly in 1975.

WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES SUPPORTS PALESTINE

The World Council of Churches reminded Christians in the Western world "to recognize that their guilt over the fate of Jews in their countries may have influenced their views of the conflict in the Middle East and have often led to uncritical support of the policies of the state of Israel, thereby ignoring the plight of the Palestinian people and their rights."

In a statement on the Middle East, issued by its Sixth Assembly convened in Vancouver, Canada, between 24 July and 10 August 1983, the WCC warned against the illusion that Israel's invasion of Lebanon settled any problems in the region. The statement said:

"Recent developments in the region have further pushed back prospects for peace. The agony of the Lebanese war is not yet over. The integrity and independence of Lebanon are in greater danger than ever. The Israeli settlement policy on the West Bank has resulted in a de facto annexation giving final touches to a discriminatory policy of development of peoples that flagrantly violates the basic rights of the Palestinian people. There are fears of relocation of the inhabitants on the West Bank and their expulsion. A large number of Palestinians are under detention in the prisons of the West Bank and camps in Lebanon. There is escalation of tension in the occupied territories."

The statement supported "the implementation of the rights of the Palestinians to self-determination including the right of establishing a sovereign Palestinian state." It also called for "greater awareness among the churches about the urgency and justice of the Palestinian cause." In this connection active support should be extended to the UN Conference on the Question of Palestine to be held at the end of August 1983 in Geneva. The churches should bring to bear their influence on states to participate in it."

The WCC expressed concern about "the plight of the indigenous Muslim and Christian communities" in Jerusalem. The Assembly passed the following resolutions on Jerusalem:

"We call the attention of the Churches to the need for:

- actions which will ensure a continuing indigenous Christian presence and witness in Jerusalem.
- wider ecumenical awareness of the plight of the indigenous Muslim and Christian communities suffering from the repressive actions of the occupying power in East Jerusalem and other occupied territories.
- We call upon all churches to express their common concern that although Israeli law guarantees free access for members of all religious traditions rooted in Jerusalem to their holy places, the state of war between Israel and Arab States, the political reality created by the Israeli annexation of East Jerusalem and continuing occupation of the West Bank means that Arab Muslims and Christians continue to experience serious difficulties and are often prevented from visiting the Holy City."



INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON PALESTINE

United Nations International Conference on the Question of Palestine declared the attainment of Palestinian rights, including independent statehood, to be the basis for a comprehensive and durable settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. In its Final Declaration and Program of Action, issued at the conclusion of the conference on 7 September, it identified the principal cause of persistent tension in the Middle East to be the denial of legitimate Palestinian rights by Israel "and those who support its expansionist policies." It called for an international peace conference to resolve the conflict in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and its relevant resolutions, and in which all parties to the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the PLO, should participate on an equal footing.

The conference called on all states to recognize the fact that continuing Israeli occupation exacerbates instability in the region and endangers international peace and security. It also urged them to oppose Israeli expansionism, refrain from giving aid and encouragement to Israeli aggression, to discourage the migration of their citizens to the occupied territories, to recognize the PLO as the Palestinian people's representative, and recommended to the General Assembly to designate a "Palestine Year."

The conference, convened in Geneva from 29 August to 7 September, was held in accordance with a General Assembly resolution passed in December 1981. It was boycotted by Israel, the United States and Canada, but was attended by 137 states and 110 non-governmental organizations.

As an unambiguous gesture to the concept of Palestinian nationhood, the conference decided to seat the Palestine Liberation Organization as a full member instead of an observer, the status previously given to the PLO in the United Nations and related bodies. The Palestinian delegation was led by Farouk Kaddoumi, head of the Political Department of the PLO. Chairman Yassar Arafat visited Geneva for 24 hours, during which he addressed the conference, held a press conference, and met with a large number of attending delegates. Wafa, the Palestinian news agency, reported that Mr. Arafat made the unscheduled visit to Geneva at the invitation of the presidium of the conference, who felt that his presence would be most important in this "international demonstration in support of the Palestinian people, of the PLO and its leadership."



Israel's borders move . . . again

Israeli soldiers draw new boundaries of Israel . . .
deep into Lebanese territory

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